

Message Text

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11

ACTION NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7414

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 10297

NSCE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

SECTO 304

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: EXCHANGE OF DINNER TOASTS BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO AND SECRETARY OF STATE AT

PM'S RESIDENCE, RAWALPINDI, OCT. 31, 1974

1. FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S
TOAST:

QUOTE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I HAVE A WRITTEN TEXT OF A
SPEECH IN MY POCKET AND I CAN TAKE IT OUT AND READ IT,
BUT IT WOULD BE A DULL CONSOLATION TO A VERY WARM VISIT.
SO IF YOU WILL BEAR WITH ME, I WOULD LIKE TO DEPART
FROM THE TEXT AND SAY A FEW WORDS ONLY WHICH COME
SINCERELY FROM MY HEART. AND SINCE THEY COME FROM MY
HEART THIS TOAST AND THIS SPEECH IS NOT FOR DR. KISSINGER,
THE SECRETARY OF STATE, BUT FOR MRS. KISSINGER. FOR
ONE OF TWO REASONS. FIRSTLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN
RECENTLY MARRIED AND SHE CAN SAY: 'WELL YOU CANNOT SAY
WE HAVE BEEN RECENTLY MARRIED, WE'VE BEEN MARRIED FOR A
FEW WEEKS OR A FEW MONTHS.' BUT A PERSON LIKE ME,
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HAVING BEEN MARRIED FOR 20 YEARS, WOULD SAY WHAT ARE A

FEW WEEKS OR A FEW MONTHS? ESPECIALLY WHEN YOU TRAVEL
SO MUCH. AND DR. KISSINGER GOES ALL OVER THE WORLD,
LEAVING YOU BEHIND IN WASHDC, DRAB AND DREARY
WASHDC. BUT YOU CAN READ HIS BOOKS WHEN HE IS GONE.
SO THIS IS A TOAST FOR MRS. KISSINGER AND NOT FOR THE
SECRETARY OF STATE. I REMEMBER FONDLY WALTZING MATILDA
BUT WE PREFER TILTING KISSINGER. BUT THEY SAY THAT DR.
KISSINGER DOESN'T TILT ANYMORE --BUT WHY DID HE GET
MARRIED?

WE WELCOME YOU TO PAKISTAN DR. KISSINGER AND MRS. KISSINGER.
YOUR VISIT HERE IS TOO SHORT, BUT I KNOW HOW TERRIBLY
BUSY YOU ARE LOOKING AFTER YOUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES
AND GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR A GREAT POWER MEAN A
LOT TO ALL OF US BECAUSE IT MEANS A WORLD OF PEACE AND
A WORLD OF STABILITY, AND WE ARE ALL ANXIOUS TO HAVE
PEACE AND STABILITY. WE KNOW THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS
YOUR COUNTRY HAS MADE AND YOU HAVE MADE AS THE EXPONENT
OF YOUR COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF
A WORLD EQUILIBRIUM WITHOUT AN IDEALISTIC APPROACH TO
WORLD AFFAIRS. BUT WHEN I SAY THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN
IDEALISTIC, IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT HAS BEEN DEVOID OF
IDEALISM. IDEALISM CAN NEVER BE FORGOTTEN IN THIS
PRAGMATIC WORLD.

WE WHO ARE YOUR ADMIRERS WOULD LIKE YOU TO BE CONSIDERED
AS A MODERN METTERNICH. BUT THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT
METTERNICH'S NATION HAD LOST THE WAR AND METTERNICH CAME
AFTER A NAPOLEON. YOU ARE CASTING AND EVOLVING THE
FOREIGN POLICY OF A GREAT COUNTRY WITHOUT A WAR AND AS
A VICTORIOUS NATION. THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION
IS SATURATED. IN A SATURATED ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
SITUATION PROFOUND CHANGES ARE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE.
AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR IT
WAS POSSIBLE TO HAVE A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER BECAUSE
YOU HAD TO BUILD A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER ON THE ASHES
OF WAR AND ON THE DEBRIS OF WAR. BUT WHEN YOU HAVE TO
EVOLVE A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORDER
WITHOUT WAR, WITHOUT A CLEAN SLATE, IT IS A MORE
INGENIOUS EFFORT AND IT REQUIRES MORE PATIENCE AND MORE
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UNDERSTANDING OF THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

WHAT WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS, WHAT WITH INTERNATIONAL
INFLATION, WHAT WITH THE SITUATION IN EUROPE AND IN THE
MIDDLE EAST AND THE SITUATION EVOLVING THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD--WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO PULL THE PULLEY AND LEAVY
THE STRUCTURE INTACT? THE PULLIES HAVE TO BE PULLED AND
YET THE STRUCTURE HAS TO BE KEPT INTACT. THIS IS WHY

YOUR JOB IS UNENVIOUS. AND THAT IS WHY YOU WILL HAVE
TO DEVISE NEW METHODS. YOU WILL HAVE TO BRING TO BEAR
YOUR FULL IMAGINATION, IMAGINATION OF YOUR GREAT PEOPLE.
YOU HAVE TO HAVE THE FOREBEARANCE OF THE PYRAMIDS.

YOU'LL HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH DIFFERENT POWERS,
DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, DIFFERENT PEOPLES, WITH CONFLICTING
INTERESTS, AND WITH DIFFERENT POSITIONS. AND YOU HAVE
TO WALTZ OUT OF THAT SITUATION LIKE WALTZING MATILDA.
NOW THAT'S WHY WE FEEL SORRY FOR YOU, THAT ON THE ONE
HAND YOU REPRESENT THE GREATEST POWER ON EARTH: ON THE
OTHER HAND YOU ARE INCAPACITATED BY THE VERY POWER THAT
YOU HOLD. WE WHO COME FROM SMALLER COUNTRIES CAN EXPRESS
OUR VIEWS. WE CAN EXPRESS OUR VIEWS MORE FREELY. BUT
THESE VIEWS DO NOT HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE CHANGES IN THE
INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE.

YOU HAVE JUST COME FROM INDIA AND BANGLADESH. BELIEVE
ME, WE WILL BE HAPPY IF YOUR VISIT TO INDIA IS SUCCESSFUL
AND IF YOUR VISIT TO BANGLADESH IS SUCCESSFUL. YOU
MIGHT SAY, IS IT NOT STRANGE THAT PAKISTAN SHOULD SAY
THAT, PAKISTAN WITH HER DIFFERENCES WITH INDIA,
HISTORICAL, WAY BACK GOD KNOWS TO WHEN, TIME IMMEMORIAL,
THOUSANDS OF YEARS IF NOT HUNDREDS? BUT WE SAY THIS IS
A NEW WORLD, THIS IS A DIFFERENT WORLD. AND WE ACCEPT
YOUR POSITION, WE ACCEPT YOUR BIG ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 10297

SECTO 304

NSCE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: EXCHANGE OF DINNER TOASTS BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER
ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO AND SECRETARY OF STATE AT
PM'S RESIDENCE, RAWALPINDI, OCTOBER 31, 1974

YOU HAVE COME FROM BANGLADESH WHICH WAS A PART OF OUR
COUNTRY. IT'S NO LONGER A PART OF OUR COUNTRY.
OTHERWISE THREE YEARS AGO YOU WOULD HAVE COME FROM EAST
PAKISTAN INTO WEST PAKISTAN. NOW THEY ARE SEPARATE.
WE WISH THEM WELL. WE WOULD LIKE THEM TO PROSPER, WE
WOULD LIKE THEM TO BE HAPPY. BECAUSE IN THE SUBCONTINENT
THE BIGGEST TASK WE HAVE IS TO FACE POVERTY AND MISERY.
IF WE CAN FIND A JUST SOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEMS, AND WE
KNOW THAT YOU WILL BE HAPPY IF WE CAN FIND THESE SOLUTIONS,
WE WOULD BE VERY HAPPY.
WE HAVE HAD VERY USEFUL DISCUSSIONS TODAY. I AM HAPPY
WITH THOSE DISCUSSIONS. I AM VERY SATISFIED. NOW THE
JOURNALISTS, THEY WILL BADGER YOU TOMORROW. I DON'T
WANT THE JOURNALISTS TO BADGER DR. KISSINGER. HE HAS
GOT ENOUGH PROBLEMS AS IT IS. AND THEREFORE I'D LIKE TO
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TELL THE JOURNALISTS THAT WHY DO YOU WANT TO TROUBLE
HIM UNNECESSARILY AND ASK HIM SILLY QUESTIONS, POINTED
QUESTIONS, "BOX ITEMS." FORGET THE BOX ITEMS, THE
SMALL QUESTIONS, FORGET THE HEADLINES. I SAY I AM
SATISFIED. AND I SPEAK NOW AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF
PAKISTAN. AND WHEN I SAY I AM SATISFIED, WELL THEN,
THAT'S ENOUGH. AND WHY SHOULD WE EXPECT RESULTS
INSTANTANEOUSLY? RESULTS DON'T COME INSTANTANEOUSLY.
WE ARE NOT GOING INTO A CAFETERIA TO ORDER A HAMBURGER.
THE QUESTION IS THAT WE HAVE HAD DISCUSSIONS AND I AM
SATISFIED WITH THESE DISCUSSIONS. THAT'S GOOD ENOUGH.
IT'S THE TIP OF THE ICE BERG, AND YOU SHOULDN'T EXPECT
IMMEDIATE RESULTS, OR SPONTANEOUS, INSTANTANEOUS
DECISIONS. THOSE DAYS ARE GONE, THOSE DAYS NO LONGER
EXIST. SO I WOULD SAY DON'T BOTHER ABOUT THE JOURNALISTS.
YOU GO TO KABUL. SAY HELLO TO DAUD FOR ME AND TELL HIM
THAT WE'D LIKE TO BE FRIENDS WITH THEM AND WHEN YOU GO
AFTER THAT TO IRAN PLEASE GIVE OUR WARMEST REGARDS AND
AFFECTION AND RESPECTS TO HIS MAJESTY, THE SHAH IN SHAH
OF IRAN. WITH WHOM WE HAVE VERY CLOSE AND CORDIAL
RELATIONS. AND WE WISH YOU A VERY GOOD JOURNEY TO ROME,
WHERE WE HOPE YOU WILL REST A LITTLE AND IF YOUR SPEECH

IS STILL UNWRITTEN WE HAVE AN EXCELLENT MAN IN THE
MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, MR. BUCHA, WHO CAN WRITE A
VERY GOOD SPEECH FOR YOU IF YOU WANT HIM TO WRITE THAT
SPEECH. SO GO BACK TO THE UNITED STATES FEELING
SATISFIED WITH WHAT YOU HAVE ACHIEVED. AND YOU HAVE
ACHIEVED A GREAT DEAL. THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE GONE TO
INDIA, THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE GONE TO ALL THESE COUNTRIES
AND COME TO US, WE FEEL SATISFIED. WE FEEL HAPPY WITH
YOUR VISIT HERE. WE WISH YOU AND MRS. KISSINGER TO
COME AGAIN AND STAY A LITTLE LONGER IN OUR COUNTRY.
YOU ARE ALWAYS WELCOME, YOUR LEADERS ARE ALWAYS WELCOME.

AND FINALLY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO
JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO DR. KISSINGER AND HIS CHARMING
WIFE MRS. KISSINGER, TO OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA -- WHICH IS NOT A NEW FRIENDSHIP,
IT'S AN OLD FRIENDSHIP, IT IS OVER A GENERATION, AND
IT IS A CONSTANT FRIENDSHIP. IT HAS NOT GONE THROUGH
UPS AND DOWNS. IT HAS GONE UP AND UP. AND THERE IS NO
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QUESTION OF ITS GOING THROUGH UPS AND DOWNS BECAUSE WHEN
YOU HAVE FUNDAMENTAL FRIENDSHIP IT DOESN'T GO DOWN -- IT
GOES UP OR IT STAYS STEADY. END QUOTE.

2. FOLLOWING IS RESPONSE BY SECRETARY KISSINGER:
QUOTE: MR. PRIME MINISTER, MRS. BHUTTO, EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I WISH MR. PRIME MINISTER YOU HAD PULLED THE SPEECH FROM
YOUR POCKET AND READ SOMETHING PEDANTIC AND BUREAUCRATIC
WHICH IS WHAT IS USUALLY PREPARED FOR ONE -- BECAUSE
THEN MY DIFFICULTY IN FOLLOWING ONE OF THE MORE ELOQUENT
MEN OF OUR TIMES WOULD NOT BE SO GREAT. OF COURSE,
THE PRIME MINISTER KNOWS VERY WELL THAT HIS REMARKS
ABOUT THE PRESS WERE NOT DESIGNED TO CALM THEM DOWN,
THEY WERE AN INCITEMENT TO RIOT. (LAUGHTER.)

I APPRECIATE THE VERY WARM REMARKS AND COMING TO THIS
COUNTRY IS ALWAYS RETURNING TO OLD FRIENDS. THIS IS
MY SECOND VISIT HERE AS SECRETARY OF STATE AND I MET
THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE FIRST TIME UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES
THAT WERE VERY DIFFICULT FOR PAKISTAN. I ADMIRER HIS
WISDOM IN THAT DIFFICULT PERIOD, AND I COULD SEE HOW
HE HAD REBUILT A NATION FROM A SITUATION THAT COULD
NOT HAVE BEEN MORE COMPLEX. AND HAVING LIVED THROUGH
THAT PERIOD WITH HIM FOR A FEW DAYS, I WOULD LIKE TO
REMARKS ON THE GENEROSITY OF SPIRIT THAT WAS REFLECTED
IN WHAT HE SAID ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF PAKISTAN TO
INDIA AND TO BANGLADESH.

THERE IS SOMETIMES SPECULATION OF WHAT I DO WHEN I GO
ON THESE TRIPS. AND THERE ARE SOME ARTICLES THAT CLAIM
THAT I TELL EVERYBODY WHAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO HEAR.
THE FACT IS THAT I TRY TO TELL EVERYBODY EXACTLY THE
SAME THING. WHEN I WAS IN INDIA, I POINTED OUT THAT
THE UNITED STATES BELIEVED IN THE PROCESS OF PEACEFUL
ACCOMMODATION IN THE SUBCONTINENT, THAT IT WELCOMED THE
NEGOTIATIONS THAT WERE GOING ON, AND THAT IT STRONGLY
FAVORED A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. BUT I ALSO SAID THERE AS
I SAY HERE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN INTEREST IN
A SECURE AND UNIFIED. AND INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN
PAKISTAN. AND ON THIS BASIS I BELIEVE THAT PEACE ON THE
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SUBCONTINENT CAN BE ACHIEVED FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL
OF ITS PEOPLE.

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ACTION NEA-10

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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 ISLAMABAD 10297

SECTO 304

NSCE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH, MR. PRIME MINISTER, YOUR

OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. BECAUSE IT IS TRUE THAT WHAT THE WORLD FACES TODAY IS HOW TO BUILD A PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ORDER FOR WHICH THERE IS NO PRECEDENT. AND IN THE ABSENCE OF CASTROPHE FOR WHICH THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE IMPETUS, IT IS MOREOVER A PEACEFUL ORDER WHICH CANNOT BE BASED SIMPLY ON THE EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER, BECAUSE THAT IS TOO DANGEROUS. BUT ALSO WITHOUT AN EQUILIBRIUM, LIFE IT TOO INSECURE. BUT IT MUST ALSO REFLECT A SENSE OF JUSTICE, WHERE ALL THE NATIONS FEEL THAT THEY HAVE A STAKE IN MAINTAINING THAT NEW INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. DESPITE DIFFERENCES OF IDEOLOGY AND DESPITE DIFFERENCES IN HISTORY, THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO DO ITS BIT IN BRINGING ABOUT IN THIS WORLD CONDITIONS OF A DEGREE OF INTERDEPENDENCE WHICH IS UNIQUE IN HISTORY. I HAVE BEEN SPEAKING ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF INTERDEPENDENCE FOR THE LAST YEAR. AND I THOUGHT THAT I HAD BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE WHO HAD COINED THIS CONCEPT. BUT THEN I CAME ACROSS THIS SPEECH OF THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO AS USUAL SAID THE SAME THING MORE ELOQUENTLY THAN I DID. HE SAID:
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'THE WORLD TODAY IS VERY DIFFERENT THAN THE WORLD IN WHICH PAKISTAN EMERGED AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION 26 YEARS AGO. THE PASSAGE OF TIME HAS WITNESSED A GRADUAL BUT PERCEPTIBLE TRANSFORMATION IN THE MINDS OF MEN AND THEIR VISION OF THE WORLD. COMPETING IDEOLOGIES NO LONGER CAUSE THE FEAR OR INSPIRE THE FERVOR THAT CHARACTERIZED THE ERA OF THE COLD WAR. ABOVE ALL, THERE IS A GREATER PERCEPTION OF GLOBAL UNITY AND INTERDEPENDENCE -- A CONCERN FOR USING THE WORLD'S RICHES MORE BENEFICIALLY AND SHARING THEM MORE EQUITABLY-- AND A CONCEPT OF JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS TRANSCENDING NATIONAL FRONTIERS.'

MR. PRIME MINISTER, THESE VIEWS REFLECT EXACTLY OUR ATTITUDE. AND I HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY OF QUOTING YOU BECAUSE WHEN THE FORMAL TALKS ARE OVER, AND WHEN ONE SPEAKS OF SPECIFIC ISSUES HERE AND THERE, ONE TENDS TO FORGET THAT THE ONLY RELIABLE GUARANTEE OF NATIONS DEALING WITH EACH OTHER IS WHETHER THEY HAVE THE SAME PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD AND THE SAME GENERAL OBJECTIVE WITH RESPECT TO THE NATURE OF PEACE.

I HAVE APPRECIATED IN OUR TALKS TODAY, MR. PRIME MINISTER, THAT WE DID NOT GET LOST IN TRIVIALITIES AND SPOKE ABOUT THE ESSENTIALS. I SHARE YOUR FEELING THAT THE TALKS WERE USEFUL, AND THAT, AS ALWAYS, WE TALKED AS OLD FRIENDS AND AS CONSTANT FRIENDS. AND I KNOW THAT WHENEVER WE WILL COME BACK HERE OR WHENEVER AN AMERICAN

SECRETARY OF STATE OR PRESIDENT COMES HERE, HE WILL BE
MEETING OLD AND RELIABLE FRIENDS. AND IT IS IN THIS
SPIRIT THAT I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE
PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. BHUTTO, TO THE PEOPLE OF
PAKISTAN AND TO THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND
THHE UNITED STATES.
KISSINGER

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